

Message Text

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LUXEMBOURG FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

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TAGS SOPN

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S "LE MATIN" INTERVIEW

FOLLOWING, ON FYI BASIS, IS EXCERPT FROM AMEMBASSY PARIS
DAILY MEDIA ANALYSIS WHICH CONTAINS FULL TEXT OF FIRST IN-
TERVIEW. SECOND INTERVIEW WILL BE SENT SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT: LE MATIN CARRIES ON PAGE ONE THE FOLLOWING
SUMMARY OF YOUNG'S INTERVIEW WHICH IS CARRIED ON AN INSIDE
PAGE: BEGIN QUOTE: ANDREW YOUNG DRAMATIZES EAST-WEST

TENSION. FAITHFUL TO HIS REPUTATION AS A NON-CONFORMIST
DIPLOMAT, ANDREW YOUNG, THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UN, CON-
TENDS THAT AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE FAR FROM BEING AS
BAD AS IT APPEARS. THIS AT THE VERY MOMENT WHEN CYRUS
VANCE, WHO IS THEORETICALLY HIS BOSS AS SECRETARY OF STATE,
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SAYS THAT THE GENERAL CLIMATE OF DETENTE HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN
MADE WORSE BY THE SERIES OF SOVIET TRIALS OF POLITICAL
OPPONENTS. TRYING SUCH MEN AS WRITER ALEXANDER GUINZBURG
AND JEWISH MILITANT ANATOLI SCHRANSKY WAS A CHALLENGE HURLED
BY MOSCOW AT THE APOSTLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, JIMMY CARTER.
THIS IS IN ANY CASE HOW IT HAS BEEN UNDERSTOOD BY ZBIGNEW
BRZEZINSKI, THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S ADVISER ON SECURITY MAT-
TERS, AND MALCOM TOON, THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW. BOTH
DIPLOMATS FAVOR STRONG ACTION AND WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THE
SALT NEGOTIATION DRAG ON USING REPRISALS. AMERICANS AND

SOVIETS, INCIDENTLY ARE TO RESUME THE SALT NEGOTIATION IN GENEVA TODAY. BUT CARTER HAS SENT TO THIS DIFFICULT MEETING THE "GENTLEMAN" OF THE STATE DEPT., CYRUS VANCE, WHO DOES NOT WANT THE DETERIORATION OF WASHINGTON-MOSCOW RELATIONS ADVERSELY TO AFFECT TALKS SUPPOSED TO BE BENEFICIAL TO WORLD PEACE.

---ON THE EVE OF THAT MEETING, TODAY, BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER, ANDREI GROMYKO, THE SPOKESMAN OF A THIRD SCHOOL OF THOUGHT, WHO ALSO HAS THE EAR OF CARTER STATED FOR THIS NEWSPAPER HIS VIEWS ON DETENTE. IN A LONG INTERVIEW WITH OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, NINA SUTTON, ANDREW YOUNG SAYS THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO DRAMATIZING. NEITHER THE TRIALS, NOR THE SOVIET BREAKTHROUGH IN AFRICA SEEM TO HIM TO FORESHADOW DRAMATIC DECISIONS OF THE KREMLIN. CONCERNING THE BLACK CONTINENT, MR. YOUNG MOREOVER SHOWS RESERVATION TOWARD FRANCE'S POLICY.

Q. HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE OPENING OF THE SHCHARANSKY AND GUINZBURG TRIALS ON THE EVE OF A VANCE-GROMYKO MEETING?

A. A CHALLENGE, A GESTURE OF INDEPENDENCE ON THEIR PART
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IS CERTAINLY INVOLVED. BUT THIS WON'T PREVENT THEM FROM CARRYING ON WITH THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHERMORE, WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN TO THE DISSIDENTS IS UNKNOWN. AFTER ALL, IN OUR JAILS ALSO ARE HUNDREDS PERHAPS THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHOM I WOULD CALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. TEN YEARS AGO, I WAS TRIED IN ATLANTA FOR HAVING ORGANIZED A MOVEMENT OF PROTEST. THREE YEARS LATER, I WAS REPRESENTATIVE OF GEORGIA. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THINGS DO NOT EVOLVE THAT FAST IN THE SOVIET UNION, BUT THEY ALSO CHANGE.

Q. BUT THE TWO SYSTEMS CANNOT BE COMPARED..?

A. I DISAGREE WITH PITTING SYSTEMS AGAINST EACH OTHER. TAKE THE U.S., FOR EXAMPLE: THE SOCIETY OF TODAY NO LONGER HAS ANYTHING IN COMMON WITH THAT BEFORE FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT. IN THE 1930'S AND 1940'S THE LABOR MOVEMENT STARTED A REVOLUTION WITHOUT WHICH WE SURELY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO PRODUCE 9 MILLION CARS A YEAR NOW. IN THE '50'S THERE WAS THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION. NOW IT IS WOMEN WHO INCREASINGLY PARTICIPATE IN OUR ECONOMY. THE CONSTANT EVOLUTION IS A RULE EVERYWHERE. I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET DISSIDENTS OF TODAY MIGHT WELL BE THE SALVATION OF THE SOVIET UNION, THAT THEY ARE A NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET SOCIETY. BUT THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS HAVE NOT YET REALIZED THIS.

Q. IT IS THE SAME FAITH IN THE PROGRESS AND DYNAMISM OF

CAPITALISM THAT LEADS YOU TO REPEAT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NOTHING TO FEAR FROM THE SOVIET UNION, IN AFRICA FOR EXAMPLE, BECAUSE IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE U.S. HAS SOMETHING BETTER TO OFFER THE THIRD WORLD, BUT AREN'T YOU AFRAID THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT FEEL CORNERED AND START A DRAMATIC CONFRONTATION?

A. NO, I DON'T THINK THAT THEY HAVE THEIR BACK TO THE WALL. EXCEPT WHEN THEY PLACE THEMSELVES IN THAT POSITION BY THEIR UNCLASSIFIED

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OWN ERRORS. THEY WERE IN SOMALIA, BUT THEY DID NOT KNOW HOW TO AGREE WITH SYAAD BARRE AND THEY THEREFORE HAD TO GIVE UP SOMALIA FOR ETHIOPIA. TWO YEARS AGO, THEY WERE IN THE SUDAN, BUT BECAUSE OF TENSIONS WITH LIBYA THAT THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND, THEY WERE OUSTED.

Q. ISN'T THIS THE VERY DANGER? CHALLENGED BY EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. ECONOMICALLY WEAKER THAN SOME OF THEIR SATELLITES -- ESPECIALLY EAST GERMANY -- THE SOVIETS CAN NOT EVEN RELY ON THEIR PROTEGES...?

A. NO, I BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY CANNOT CONTROL EVERYTHING. BUT ALSO THAT THEY CAN HONESTLY PLAY THE GAME OF COMPETITION. FOR EXAMPLE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE PRINCIPAL TRADE PARTNER OF THE USSR IN NORTH AFRICA TODAY IS MOROCCO. THIS, STRICTLY ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL NEEDS. MOROCCO HAS BIG DEPOSITS OF PHOSPHATE AND THE SOVIETS NEED FERTILIZERS. WE DO NOT AT ALL SEEK TO LIMIT THAT KIND OF ACTIVITY. WHAT WE TRY TO DO, AT LEAST I HOPE SO, IS TO LIMIT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR MILITARY ADVENTURES.

Q. BUT IN ECONOMIC MATTERS, THE U.S. HAS SO MUCH MORE TO OFFER THE THIRD WORLD, YOU PERSONALLY SAID IT....?

A. THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY TRUE. THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM, OF COURSE, MAXIMIZES EFFECTIVENESS. THE USSR HAS NOT YET LEARNED HOW TO MASTER ITS BUREAUCRACY. BUT IT HAS HUGE NATURAL RESOURCES STILL UNEXPLOITED. IT THEREFORE REMAINS FOR IT TO FIND A SOUNDER BALANCE. BUT, AFTER ALL, JAPAN ALSO HAS A WEIGHTY BUREAUCRACY AND, EVEN IN THE U.S. WE HAVE TO FIND A SOUNDER BALANCE TO FACE UP TO UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION. UNCLASSIFIED

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Q. AREN'T YOU AFRAID TO SEE A THIRD WORLD WAR BREAK OUT?

A. OH, NOT AT ALL -- OUR RELATIONS WITH THE USSR ARE TOO GOOD.

Q. AT THE SALT NEGOTIATION LEVEL PERHAPS...?

A. AT ALL LEVELS, BUT NOT PUBLICLY. AFTER ALL, VANCE AND GROMYKO MEET EACH OTHER ALMOST EVERY MONTH.

Q. LET'S TURN TO AFRICA. IT IS OFTEN SAID IN WASHINGTON THAT THE FRENCH AND THE AMERICAN POLICIES ARE TOTALLY COMPLEMENTARY ON THAT CONTINENT. DO YOU AGREE?

A. THIS DEPENDS ON WHAT IS SPOKEN OF. IF THE QUESTION IS TO ASSURE THE TRANSPORTATION OF TROOPS FOR A HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE, AS TO KOLWEZI, THIS IS TRUE. FOR THE REST, I DON'T KNOW VERY WELL WHAT THE FRENCH DO.

Q. BUT WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR GOALS ARE THE SAME AS THOSE OF THE FRENCH IN AFRICA?

A. NO, NOT AT ALL.

Q. COULD YOU EXPAND THIS POINT?

A. NO. I CANNOT.

Q. WHY?

A. BECAUSE, I BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH PRIMARILY DEFEND THEIR OWN ECONOMIC INTERESTS. IN THE DIFFERENCE THAT PITTED THEM AGAINST THE BELGIANS IN CONNECTION WITH THE SHABA OPERATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, I WOULD SAY THAT WE WERE CLOSER TO THE BELGIANS BECAUSE THEY WERE PROMPTED BY HUMANITARIAN UNCLASSIFIED

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CONSIDERATIONS. THEY WANTED TO PROTECT THEIR NATIONALS AND ALSO TO PRESERVE THE MINING INDUSTRY OF THE COUNTRY.

Q. AND THE FRENCH?

A. I DO NOT EXACTLY KNOW. I BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH ARE WORRIED BY THEIR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT. THEY HAVE DIFFICULTIES IN COMPETING WITH THE GERMANS, THE JAPANESE, THE SWEDES. THEY HAVE ALWAYS OVERCOME THIS BY DEVELOPING VERY FRUITFUL NEO-COLONIAL RELATIONSHIPS. INCIDENTALLY, I HAVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SOME OF THE COUNTRIES THAT FARE THE BEST IN AFRICA ARE IN THE FRENCH-SPEAKING ZONE. THE CONVENTIONAL EXAMPLE IS THAT OF THE IVORY COAST. AND I LIKE THE IVORY COAST. WHEN I SEE A PRESIDENT SUCH AS HOUPHOUET BOIGNY DECIDING, IN FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THE CASE, THAT THE FUTURE OF HIS PEOPLE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS COUNTRY ARE BEST SERVED BY A CLOSE COOPERATION WITH FRANCE, I DO ALL I CAN TO SUPPORT HIM. --

Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE PLAN TO CREAT AN ALL-AFRI-
CAN FORCE?

A. I THINK THAT IT WILL NEVER BE BORN. THIS IS WHY I
NEVER WAS REALLY UPSET. IT HAS BEEN MUCH SPOKEN OF, BUT
SEE WHAT HAS BEEN PRODUCED. THREE HUNDRED SENAGALESE,
THREE HUNDRED GABONESE AND PERHAPS A THOUSAND MOROCCANS.
NO, THIS PLAN GIVES RISE TO TOO MUCH OPPOSITION IN THE
ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES. -BECAUSE IT IS NOT SEEN THERE
AS AN ALL-AFRICAN FORCE BUT AS A FRENCH-AFRICAN FORCE.
THIS WILL CERTAINLY BE A MAIN DISCUSSION TOPIC AT THE OAU
CONFERENCE. THIS SAID, I THINK THAT THERE SHOULD BE A WAY
BY WHICH THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES COULD MUTUALLY HELP EACH
OTHER. AND I THINK THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD
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PROBABLY BE THE BEST WAY TO ORGANIZE IT BECAUSE IT COULD
FREEZE THE MILITARY SITUATION. THE OAU WANTS TO SETTLE
THESE PROBLEMS ALONE, BUT IT DOES NOT HAVE THE MATERIAL
MEANS FOR THAT AND, AFTER ALL, AFRICA IS NOT FAR AWAY FROM
THE REST OF THE WORLD. THE UN TROOPS, I THINK, HAVE PRO-
VEN THAT THEY COULD CONTAIN VIOLENCE AND OPEN THE WAY FOR
A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICTS. THIS IS WHAT
BOTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST NEED.

Q. SPEAKING OF CONFLICTS, WHAT IS YOUR POSITION ON THE
ROLE THAT THE CUBANS PLAYED, OR DID NOT PLAY, IN SHABA?

A. THE PRESIDENT JUDGED THAT THEY HAD A PART OF THE RE-
SPONSIBILITY. THIS IS ALSO MY OPINION. BECAUSE THEY
ASSUMED THE OBLIGATIONS OF MILITARY ADVISERS OF THE ANG-
OLAN GOVERNMENT AND, AS SUCH, MUST ASSUME THIRD PART OF
RESPONSIBILITY.

Q. YET FIDEL CASTRO WAS CAREFUL TO FOREWARN WASHINGTON,
QUITE AN UNUSUAL GESTURE ON HIS PART...?

A. HE SIMPLY INFORMED US THAT THE CUBANS HAD NOT PLAYED
ANY ROLE IN THE INVASION. BUT, BEFORE THAT, HE COULD HAVE
WARNED THOSE WHO PREPARED IT AND DETERRED THEM. AND HE
DID NOT DO IT.

Q. WHY, IN YOUR OPINION?

A. I BELIEVE THAT HE DID NOT DO IT PROBABLY BECAUSE EAST
GERMANS WERE INVOLVED IN THAT AFFAIR. I ALWAYS THOUGHT SO.

Q. ON THE BASIS OF WHAT INFORMATION?
ON THE BASIS OF WHAT INFORMATION?

A. WELL, WHILE THE PRESENCE OF EAST GERMANS IN AFRICA IS

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LIMITED, THEIR ROLE IS INCREASING, THERE ARE NOT MANY TROOPS BUT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF TECHNICAL ADVISERS. AND THE EAST GERMANS ACTUALLY TRAIN AND ARM THE AFRICANS IN SITUATIONS SUCH AS THIS ONE. AND THERE THEY HAD A GOOD REASON. THEY WERE WORRIED BY THE MISSILE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM SET AFOOT BY THE WEST GERMANS IN SHABA. IF THE CUBANS SAID NOTHING, IT WAS BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT BETRAY THE EAST GERMANS. BUT THEY ALSO WANTED US TO KNOW THAT THEY HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THAT.

Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE PRIVILEGED RELATIONS THAT FRANCE MAINTAINS WITH JONAH SAVIMBI AND THE UNITA THAT FIGHT THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT?

A. IT HAPPENS THAT I LIKE SAVIMBI WELL. BUT I DON'T THINK THAT IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ANYONE TO WAGE A WAR FOR HIM AGAINST A GOVERNMENT IN OFFICE. IF THERE WERE A RAPPROCHMENT WITH THE MPLA, I WOULD BE THE FIRST TO ENCOURAGE IT.

Q. BUT THIS IS NOT THE POLICY OF THE FRENCH...?

A. NO, I THINK THAT THEIR LEFT HAND IS PERHAPS DESTROYING IN ANGOLA WHAT THEIR RIGHT HAND IS BUILDING IN ZAIRE.

Q. THEIR LEFT HAND BEING THAT OF COVER OPERATIONS...?

A. YES. END QUOTE. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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